

HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)

Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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TWO ANNAS

MARTYR OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

(By Willem De Sanderes Hendrikz)

It is extremely difficult for an artist to put into words what he has tried to express in terms of painting or sculpture and we know only too well how verbal descriptions of works of art can either obscure their significance or give them an intellectual content which is not justified by their aesthetic value.

I would never have essayed an explanation of the origin and form of my "Martyr of the Twentieth Century" had it not been for the fact that this work will now be seen by thousands of people unfamiliar with the trends of twentieth century art. Such people are perplexed and even antagonized by any departure from naturalism or from the forms of expression with which they are familiar. In addition, the material demands of living deny them the leisure to seek the meaning of aesthetic symbolism.

So it is to these people that I address this attempt to explain something about a piece of sculpture which took form in my studio — a work motivated by an intuitive urge rather than by an intellectual drive.

Mahatma Gandhi was to me one of the few remaining forces for good in a chaotic world where bigotry, injustice and material gain are the driving forces of what we call civilization.

The news of his violent end affected me very profoundly. It seemed that this deed reflected the utter futility of trying to improve the conditions of living, of trying to raise humanity above the present level of near-bestiality.

And yet, when I started out, (after the sleepless night that followed the hearing of the news)

to give form to yet another of the martyrs that line the passage of history, this feeling of futility left me. It was replaced by a single-minded purpose to try to express in sculpture form the essential character of this great man.

A thin, elongated form is suspended in space — space which symbolizes eternity. A hand reaches to the sky, and a heavy foot ties it to the earth. Between these opposing forces hangs a body which is not tortured by this conflict but which is calm and in repose. The whole is carved with the utmost directness and every detail is sacrificed to ensure an impression of simplicity. The simplicity that Gandhi regarded as an essential factor in his mode of life, the calmness that made that frail body a tower of strength to those who sought justice under his guidance.

Although there is only one arm and hand, and one leg and foot, both these limbs cast shadows on the wall against which the figure is hung. And these shadows take on a reality of their own and replace the missing limbs. So, in the counterplay of the limbs and their shadows lies the metaphorical counterplay of light and darkness, of the real and the unreal, of the concrete and the abstract, of the physical and the metaphysical. And the conflict of these forces is held in equilibrium by the ideal of peace symbolized in the immortal calm of the dead Gandhi.

Finally, if the hand seems raised in benediction, then it is a benediction. If it seems raised in

protest, then let it be a lasting protest against injustice.

23-3-48



LIMITATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA

(By Gandhiji)

Whether it would be proper to undertake Satyagraha, whether one who undertakes it has the fitness to do so and whether the cause for which it is sought to be undertaken is worth it can be judged only on the prevailing circumstances. I have to advise and guide friends and co-workers when they seek my advice and guidance. And often while granting their right to offer Satyagraha I have to warn them in the same breath that it was neither the time nor the occasion for it.

I have no hesitation in declaring that he who has not had some training in constructive work has not even learnt the first steps in Satyagraha. And to my mind constructive work means the spinning wheel and Khadi work, constructive work means removal of untouchability, constructive work means work for prohibition, constructive work means striving for friendship between the Hindus and the Mussalmans. Indeed, he who is not imbued with the spirit of service and the spirit of love could never dream of offering Satyagraha.

This writing does not, of course, apply to those who are not bound to seek or follow my advice. He who is by nature non-violent, who is by temperament Satyagrahi, in whose whole being truth pervades and who is the spirit of service embodied 'deserves' the respect of the world. He needs not my advice, not my guidance. And no one need say where and when he will offer Satyagraha nor whether he has the right to do so.

But to those who are filled with anger and pride, whose ego fills their being and whose intellect is disturbed by passion I would certainly say, 'Please hold yourselves in patience. Any thoughtless step taken even unconsciously would not only inevitably lead to bitter consequences but would also destroy the little control that is in evidence at present and future generations who would have to undergo sufferings on account of the so-called Satyagraha will curse us and the very name Satyagraha will suffer disrepute'. Every thoughtful person should, therefore, appreciate the limitations of Satyagraha. It would be better if instead we gave up the very name of Satyagraha and behaved as we thought best. The world will then know us for what we are. But the world will feel disturbed and perplexed and would be unable to see its way if acts are performed in the name of Satyagraha but not deserving it.

5-7-'31

If the Satyagrahi is patient there is no injustice for which he has no remedy. But it must be clearly borne in mind that if one who suffers injustice has no strength to resist it there is no other means to counter it in Satyagraha. This is the limitation of Satyagraha. The aim of

Satyagraha is to train the sufferer by actual demonstration as to how he can free himself from his sufferings. Till he is so trained the Satyagrahi has to hold himself in patience. If this is a limitation of Satyagraha it is also its beauty and strength. So the Satyagrahi does not become anyone's patron or guardian. He suffers with the sufferer, becomes his partner in suffering and his comrade.

Do not be misled into the belief that you are bound to take aggressive action against any immorality or injustice you see. Better train yourselves for such action by silent constructive work. Do not invite action against injustice but welcome it when it comes to your door.

19-7-'31

(From the original in Gujarati *Navajivan*)

TEMPLE ENTRY FOR HARIJANS

[Shri Vinoba issued the following statement from Pardih, (Bhagalpur) on 20-9-'53 regarding the Deoghar Baijnath Temple Entry Incident of 19-9-'53.]

Yesterday, while at Vaidyanathdham, I went for the Darshan of Mahadevjee in company with Harijans and some of my colleagues. We could not, of course, have Mahadevjee's Darshan, but as a blessing got beatings at the hands of His devotees. That has evoked inquiries from friends and hence, this statement :

I would like to say at the very outset that those who have indulged in this act of assault did so only out of ignorance. That being so, I do not want them to be punished for this. Rather I am glad to find that all those who were with me in hundreds, remained calm through it. Not only this, my companions, who were badly battered, told me that there was no anger within them even at the time of occurrence. I feel it is symbolic of God's grace to a land to have workers that bear no ill-will against anybody. Those who indulged in the assault were seized with anger, so much so that they made no distinction between man and woman. I trust this will prove to be the last curse of Bhedasur, the devil in man that discriminates between one man and another.

I had no mind either to force my way into the temple or to seek entry into it on the strength of the provisions of law. On the contrary it has been my practice not to go to a temple that is not open to Harijans. But I was told, on inquiry, that Harijans had free ingress into this temple. Consequently, we went out for Darshan in a reverent mood after the evening prayers. We had observed silence all along the way, and I had been meditating on the Vedic hymn sung in the praise of Mahadev. When we were assaulted, unexpectedly in this state, I even experienced significant sense of comfort. I turned back with a feeling of happiness but as we were going away, the persons assaulting us became more pronounced in their zeal. Those in my company formed a cordon round me and took all the blows that were

directly aimed at me. Yet I had also a taste of it, as if to mark the concluding part of a sacrificial performance. I recalled to my mind how the master was also subjected to a similar assault at this very place of pilgrimage. I felt honoured to have been similarly blessed.

I have already said that I do not want anybody to be benefited. But the Constitution of free India has been clearly violated. Small retributive measures cannot make up for that violation. What is needed is to provide against any recurrence of such incidents in future. I am of opinion that it would not be wrong if Government decide to take over such places of worship. And perhaps that would make for better management. This is no suggestion of mine, I am only doing a sort of loud thinking.

This is an age of science. Every faith is being tested on the touchstone of reason. If our society keeps this in view and behaves accordingly, everything will go on well.

Pardih, 20-9-'53

SOME FIGURES ABOUT LANDS IN THE PARDI TALUKA

A public worker from the Surat District has collected and sent some figures which would prove useful in arriving at a proper understanding of the agitation that is being carried on in the Pardi Taluka. He says that he has devoted as much care as he could in collecting this information and figures from government records. Relevant information from the communication is reproduced below:

How much land has been taken over for personal cultivation by landowners from tenants

Year	Willingly	For Non-	Taken over	Total
	given up by tenants	payment of rent	by owners for personal cultivation	
	A. g.	A. g.	A. g.	A. g.
1949-50	919-36	6-14	31-25	957-35
1950-51	383-19	64-20	32-13	480-12
1951-52	294-1	56-6	29-1	379-8
Total	1,597-16	127-0	92-39	1,817-15

These figures show that during the last three years 1,817 acres and 15 *gunthas* that is 14 per cent of the land held by tenants has changed hands and passed from the tenants to the owners of land.

Land used in personal cultivation and land rented to tenants

The figures as to how much land is cultivated by owners themselves and how much by tenants at present are:

Total acreage of land in the possession of tenants	Land cultivated by owners themselves	Total land under cultivation
13,000 acres	23,000 acres	36,000 acres

Thus land under cultivation in the possession of landowners is 23,000 acres and is held by small as well as big holders. It includes the acreage held by owner-farmers belonging to the backward or scheduled tribes. Land cultivated under tenancy rights is 13,000 acres and most of it is in the possession of small tenants, i.e. tenants farming a few acres.

Land for Food Crops

Besides, the acreage of land under actual cultivation in the Pardi Taluka during the past fifty or sixty years was never as much as it is at present.

About sixty years ago land under paddy in the taluka was only about 7,000 acres. Subsequently about forty years ago this acreage increased and went up to 12,000 acres; during the last twenty or twenty-five years it went up to about 17,000 acres. Today this gradual but steady increase in land under paddy has reached up to 24,500 acres as shown by government records.

Moreover, out of the land shown in government records as grass-land about 3,000 acres have been developed and transformed into land fit for paddy cultivation.

Thus during the past sixty years the acreage under paddy has gone up from 7,000 to 27,500. It means land under paddy cultivation has increased four times.

Besides this there is at present in the Pardi Taluka at least 8,000 acres of land from which miscellaneous food crops like *nagh*, *kodra*, *adad*, *twar*, castor oil-seed, peanut and such others are taken.

Garden Lands

It is also to be noted that there was hardly any garden land in this taluka which could yield fruits like mangoes, *chikus* and others. According to government records such land in the taluka at present is about 2,300 acres. New mango and other fruit trees have been grown in fallow land during the past five years. If all this new venture is taken into account one can see that fruit trees like mango, *chiku* and others are being grown in four to five thousand acres of land in the taluka.

Total Acreage under Cultivation has increased

Thus 27,000 acres are fit for paddy cultivation, 5,000 acres are garden lands, and about 8,000 acres yield miscellaneous food crops; the whole total working up to more than 40,000 acres actually under cultivation. This leaves 48,000 acres which is grass-land. Government records however at present show 54,000 acres as grass-land. This means that 6,000 acres from grass-land have been brought under cultivation recently.

Such a large acreage was never under cultivation before. Out of this acreage under cultivation of 40,000 acres 36,000 are shown as such by government records. If the acreage of land newly brought under cultivation is added to the figure we arrive at the actual figure of land under cultivation, which is 40,000 acres.

About Ownership of Land

Out of the total of 88,500 acres of land in the Pardi Taluka 250 to 300 persons who belong to the trader community hold 14,000 acres as owners; big holders including the Parsis and other communities hold in all 20,000 acres as owners, while 68,500 acres are held by small holders and farmers as owners. It means that more than 75 per cent of the total acreage under cultivation belongs to small holders who are farmers.

[My suggestion to the local public workers is that they should collect figures regarding families who are landless and as to how many acres of what kind of land would be required to distribute among them for their useful employment. Then they may approach the owners for such land to be given in Bhoodan. They would also do well to think of starting small and large cottage industries, because these landless families could hardly be fully employed on land. So, not only land but small and large cottage industries would be required to find full useful employment for them. Basic schools run on Ashram lines and centres of social education should also be organized along with them. The question brought to the fore by the Pardi agitation could be solved to satisfaction in this manner only and in no other.

— M. P. J

HARIJAN

Oct. 3

1953

GANDHI JAYANTI MESSAGE TO THE NATION

1
(By *Rajendra Prasad*)

For many years past we have been celebrating with great enthusiasm the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji himself had said that the day should be observed not as his birthday but as Charkha Jayanti. And in that spirit it is celebrated in many places by spinning Charkha and propagating Khadi. This year too it is essential that it be celebrated with the same enthusiasm and in the same manner as before.

The Government of India have decided to give subsidy to Khadi and a Board has been constituted for organizing and developing Khadi work. It has been a great difficulty with Khadi that it is dear as its cost of production is a little higher. Efforts are now being made by the Government to reduce its price and make it available to the people at cheaper rates. Khadi is a very effective weapon to fight unemployment as it can give employment to many people who have no other source of income. It is particularly from this aspect that the propagation of Khadi is considered essential. It was not long ago when the tallest in the Congress went from house to house to propagate and sell Khadi. There are at present no difficulties regarding sale; it is in fact receiving encouragement from all quarters. For the facility of the people the Khadi Board has now made arrangements to make Khadi available in different qualities in as much quantity and at any time they like. Figures of the sale of Khadi will be made known to the public by the Board on the Jayanti day. The Khadi Board has this time on the Gandhi Jayanti fixed one crore of rupees as target for the sale of Khadi and is busy organizing its work for the purpose. I hope all lovers of the country will participate in this drive for the promotion of Khadi and contribute to its success.

New Delhi, 5-8-'53
(Translated from Hindi)

2

(By *Jawaharlal Nehru*)

Many of us have believed in Khadi and worn it for a large number of years. It was for us the livery of freedom in the days of our struggle and at the same time something that put us on a level with the common man in India, whose welfare was the main object of our endeavour. Our country unfortunately has suffered from a multitude of castes. They still continue and bedevil our politics and our social life.

In addition to these castes of old, we have other divisions in our social life due to economic differences and to get rid of these has been and is our objective. The Constitution of India has emphasized this in its directive principles of policy. But that is a big question involving basic changes in our entire social fabric. We move in that direction no doubt, but the pace does not appear to be fast enough.

However that may be, there are some things which each one of us can do, and one of these is to put on and use Khadi and thus lessen at least the outward barrier of clothes that separates the well-to-do from the poor. Khadi at least brings an element of kinship with the vast masses of our people. It produces an atmosphere of comradeship and common endeavour.

In addition to this it helps, to some extent at least, in tackling the problem of unemployment. I do not mean to say that this problem will be solved by our wearing Khadi, but we do help somewhat in this way and the consciousness that we are responsible for solving this problem of unemployment is ever with us.

This problem of fuller employment has become now a major problem of today for all of us. We have to tackle it on a multitude of fronts. But it is becoming increasingly recognized that a major way of tackling it is by the encouragement of village and small-scale industries.

Khadi is one of our principal village industries and Khadi is a symbol also not only of the freedom that we sought and that we have won, but of that kinship of spirit and removal of barriers among all our people, which is so important.

Therefore, let us wear and use and encourage in every way Khadi. This applies to all of us, whatever our grade or function might be and whether we are officials or non-officials.

More especially, let us do this on this anniversary which brings such a host of memories to us—Gandhi Jayanti Day.

(From the *A. I. C. C. Economic Review*, Sept. 15, '53)

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TO THE READERS OF THESE PAPERS

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

My article 'Learning and Service of the People' (*Harijan*, 26-9-'53) has brought me several letters from the readers. They write to say that they do not agree with the friend whose letter I had referred to in that article; their view about the *Harijan* papers is different. They find the papers as interesting as before and express their wish that the papers do continue to serve the cause of the people. Some of them say that they came to know of the papers being run at a loss only when they saw that article and express their sympathy for the papers. One of them suggests that money be raised from the people as a "Harijan Papers Aid Fund", which may help the papers continue at least for the coming three years, if not more. Another friend has expressed his willingness to offer some money as help. To them all I, on behalf of the Navajivan Trust, express a deep sense of gratitude and request them to continue to take interest in the papers and help them become self-supporting.

About a year and a half ago, when the circulation of the three papers together went as low as 9,000, the late Shri K. G. M. drew the attention of the public to it. People responded well to his request, the total number of subscribers of the three papers rose to 18,000 and the papers again began just to pay their cost.

The circulation today is about 12,000. Last year 9,000 new subscribers were added to the list. Out of them about 4,500 did not renew their subscription in February last. Hence this heavy drop in the subscribers' number.

I invite the attention of the readers to the figures of subscribers of individual papers given by the Managing Trustee elsewhere in this number. I need not discuss the matter here.

The readers will see from the figures for the current year that the subscribers of the English and the Hindi editions are far below the required minimum of 6,000 or so for each of them. The Managing Trustee informs me that if one of these editions is discontinued the loss might be considerably reduced. If it thus comes to ceasing publication of any one edition, it could be only proper to discontinue the English one. There is a resolution of the Trust that if the number of subscribers of the *Harijan* did not go up to 6,500, it would have to be stopped. (*Harijan*, 23-2-1952).

Some readers suggest that if the Central and State Governments wish they can help by increasing the number of subscribers. Various offices and institutions of Government do spend money on newspapers. What objection could they have to subscribing for the *Harijan* papers? If libraries, schools and Community Project Centres take up the idea and devote their attention to it they can render service to the papers.

Regarding the suggestion of accepting donations and raising funds to help the papers, the Managing Trustee informs me that the Navajivan Trust has not worked on donations and funds. It has never been its policy. The institution has been built up on the strength of faith and inspiration of Gandhiji and on the spirit of sacrifice, service, hard honest industry and perseverance of its workers.

In the new age in which we live there is no reason for a change in this original policy of the Trust. Therefore, the suggestion of raising a fund is not acceptable. However, as I wrote to a reader in reply to his letter, lovers of the *Harijan* papers may work for increasing the number of subscribers; and if they are well-to-do, they may pay subscriptions for other deserving persons who cannot afford them. To this end they can help create 'Subscription Aid Fund', as help to various people who desire to read the papers, but cannot subscribe for them. A friend has sent me seven such subscriptions. The Trust has carried out his wish and has continued the papers to seven deserving persons.

The issue in which this article will appear happens to be published about the Gandhi Jayanti Day. It is quite in the fitness of things. These papers are dedicated to the cause of propagating the way Gandhiji showed us to achieve Rama Raj. If the people desire to see the papers continue to serve them, they should see that they pay their cost. This is in a way a test of their earnestness and love for the papers. I know the responsibility of the Navajivan Trust as also of the editor in this matter. As I wrote in my previous article, I am trying with all my strength and understanding to fulfil my duty as editor. I request the readers to give their help and goodwill in my task. My humble request to them is to treat this paper as a weekly letter to them, take active interest in the discussions that appear in it and frankly communicate to me their views, reactions, feelings etc. That will greatly enhance the capacity of the papers to render effective service. If in this way in every field of our national life, people explore every possible means of service of the people and endeavour to enhance their capacity to render it, then only will they effectively tackle every problem confronting the country and march from progress to progress. The country's onward march is not so much achieved by authority from above as by building up the strength of the people by instilling in them the will to perform free, spontaneous service and sacrifice. Power at the most gives a decent and attractive outer garb to it. On this sacred day of the birth anniversary of the Father of the Nation let each one of us, man, woman and child, both poor and rich, prince and peasant alike take the pledge to rededicate our life in the service of the people, in the spirit enkindled in us by him.

24-9-'53

(Adapted from the original in Gujarati)

THE KEY TO A PEACEFUL REVOLUTION

(By Vinoba)

The modern wars are specially calamitous in one respect. It is curious that they lead to a result which is contrary to what has been regarded as the scientific law of Nature, namely, 'the survival of the fittest'. The present scientifically conducted wars take a heavy toll of young men, which means that while the fittest are sacrificed to the war deity, those who are unfit stay back in their homes and are saved. This is contrary to the law of Nature. So these wars are utterly ruinous in every respect, and may well spell the entire extinction of humanity on the earth, unless something is done to check them. Let us see first why they come about.

A social order, whatever its form and structure, is designed to promote the health and happiness of the people. And there is no doubt that they profit by it for some time, may be, even for a very long time. But gradually its utility dwindles and a stage comes when it is no longer serviceable. It has then to be scrapped and remade even as a house has to be remade after the old one has dilapidated. The change and the reconstruction involve a good deal of suffering and labour. Naturally there are some who are reluctant to face this suffering and who therefore oppose this change. They throw in their support on the side of the *status quo*. They do, of course, introduce reforms, but only at a snail's pace and try to keep the old system intact, so long as they can, in the name of peace and order. Under the circumstance those who want change are driven to the view that it cannot be brought about except through violence. The situation gives rise to tension and as it increases, the cleavage between the protagonists of peace and order and those of change becomes wider and the latter become confirmed in their faith in violence as the only solution. This ultimately ends in war and revolution.

But we have now discovered a way which is both peaceful and revolutionary and unflinchingly potent, to secure the change of society without any of the evils associated with the other two ways. We want to overhaul the entire social structure without recourse to violence, that is, we want both peace and revolution. Revolution is indispensable. Now if we want peace also, then we have to prove that peace too has the power to revolutionize the society — not gradually but with the speed of a revolution. If this is proved, the violence will cease to be the indispensable adjunct of revolution and society will be saved. This is what we call a peaceful revolution or Satyagraha.

We who believe in Sarvodaya, i.e. the well-being of the entire society without any distinction of class or creed, have taken to Satyagraha as the means to the end that we have set ourselves. We must then have full faith in its efficacy. Secondly, we must be prepared to suffer for

it, to any extent. Thirdly, we must have the zeal and conviction to convert the heart of the people. It is certainly possible to convert the heart of man, for there is in him a divine flame which, though it may at times get obscured by darkness, is never put out. We must then have faith in this divine consciousness active in every human heart. With faith in the indwelling divine, conviction of the truth of the thought which we have accepted and readiness to suffer for it, we can surely accomplish a peaceful revolution in the society.

With this end in view, we should take up pressing social problems and work for their solution in a social way, while, at the same time, concentrating on our own inner purification individually.

Through Bhoodan we are helping the people to acquire the power of Satyagraha and develop faith in humanity. We also desire to manifest the power of peace for solving all our problems. Viewed in this perspective, Bhoodan work will reveal its distinctive glory.

People often argue that the work of land distribution can be accomplished by legislation. Our reply to them is: Brothers, do it. We have no objection to it. But we take delight in building up *jana-shakti*. We earnestly desire to finish this work as early as we can. And we firmly believe that this will be achieved in a very short time. This work will regenerate such numerous virtues and provide such a key that it will be easy for us to solve so many problems. We keep a record of the quality and the quantity of land collected. At the same time, we also measure our work from the number of workers we receive and from their quality, i.e., how far they have faith in humanity and in our ideals.

To these *sevaks* we advise that they should develop motherly devotion for their co-workers. Whatever wrongs a child may commit, the mother goes on believing that her child, after all, is good at heart. We should cultivate like devotion for our colleagues and also for our opponents. In case we hear ill of our friend we should disbelieve it. On the contrary if we hear of some good act of our friend we should at once believe it. God dwells in every heart and He inspires him to do good.

Lawyers know that the law may acquit even ten accused persons but it sees that not a single innocent person is punished. If there is some ground for doubt, we have to allow its benefit to the person concerned. The benefit of doubt should be so construed that it should lead us to find out goodness. This is indeed a fine characteristic of law based as it is on faith in humanity. The goodness of a man needs no testimony. It is misdeeds that need to be examined. In case evidence is forthcoming, one should believe it; in its absence, one should dismiss the doubt from his mind.

There should be a firm belief in the goodness of man. Had he been constitutionally bad, he would have been rewarded for his villainess and a good man would have been summoned and punished. But law respects goodness and punishes the wrongdoer. This presupposes that man is intrinsically good. With this faith in the goodness of mankind we can bring about a peaceful revolution.

This is a basic thought and with firm faith in it we can make Bhoodan Yajna a veritable success.

(From Hindi)

STANDARD OF RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION

(By Parikshital Mazmudar)

The railways are now an unavoidable necessity for all of us, — specially for those who either live in the cities or are connected with them in other ways. It is therefore important that they maintain a high standard of administration, specially when after independence they have become nationalized and constitute the biggest of our national assets.

Unfortunately, however, we find that they have been responsible for promoting corruption in numerous ways and have acted as a great contributing factor in bringing down the quality of public life. And I feel that if the educated amongst us do not take note of this evil and strive to rectify it, it may very well spread from the railways to other fields and reduce the entire administration to a state of chaos. The fear is all the greater because attempts to draw the attention of the railway officials to such instances are usually met with indifference, with the result that people become used to them and ignore them. Let me give an instance :

On 16-8-'53, at about 9 in the morning, I sent a man to the Ahmedabad Station to buy a ticket for a night train. There is a booking office at the Station which remains open for all the 24 hours of the day, as can be seen from a notice displayed over its window. The man, however, returned with the reply that the 3rd class ticket along with the reservation will be issued after 7-30 in the evening. This appeared quite strange to me inasmuch as it went against the settled and declared intention of the Railway Administration to extend this particular facility to the 3rd class long-distance passengers. I contacted the Railway authorities on the phone, and after some little argument received the reply that I might send the man again and the ticket would be issued. I expressed strong disapproval of this sort of behaviour and pointed out the inconvenience which it had caused me. Pat came the reply from the other end : If your man had told us that he was coming from . . . the ticket would have been issued immediately. Needless to say that this gave me a still greater shock. If one is required to use one's influence to secure a facility settled and declared to have been extended

to the public, then it is clear that the poor can never take any advantage of it. Such sad experiences are an everyday affair to the 3rd class passengers. It is to be regretted that they do not complain against such misconduct. I should like to urge on the members of the Railway Advisory Boards and others who may be interested in this question to give greater thought and attention to the difficulties of the 3rd class passengers. And I humbly suggest to the Railway Administration to appoint a few selected persons as visitors and take immediate action on the complaints which they may choose to make or forward to the Railway officials.

I am afraid that if the public and the Railway authorities do not show more serious regard in this matter, then this growing malady of corruption may afflict our social life in an increasingly greater degree.

(From the original in Gujarati)

NEW TREND IN THE BHOODAN MOVEMENT

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

A friend showed me the September issue of the *Vedanta Kesari*, a monthly magazine of Shri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, pointing out one of its articles named "Some Trends in the Bhoodan Movement". That the *Vedanta Kesari*, a philosophical and religious paper that it is, is interested in this movement is nothing surprising, because Shri Vinoba's movement, in the words of the magazine, "required the background of a peculiar type of civilization and traditions which obtained only in India."

It further remarks, "That Shri Vinoba should have spontaneously called his campaign *Bhoodan Yajna* is significant. Words like *Yajna* and *Dana* are not mere joined letters to Indian mind. They are so to say power-currents of national inspiration . . . It is a matter of great blessedness that it should have been given to Vinoba to induct into the modern Indian milieu those powerful currents of national inspiration and to give them an orientation most needed in these times of naked needs and brute urgencies."

While appreciating this aspect of the Bhoodan movement, the paper hints at a point or two which are noteworthy. One is : "If by extreme ill luck the Bhoodan movement slips into the path of coercion, it can do incalculable harm to this nation . . . It should be seen that the purity of approach is not vitiated by hunger for success and anger out of frustration."

We must admit that its warning is not merely true and appropriate, but is very timely and necessary. The paper discusses Shri J. P. Narayan's part in the movement and from what he lately said at Madras and elsewhere, has sounded a mild note of warning in the following terms :

"If paper reports are correct, it appears that Shri J. P. sometimes tends to create

a sort of fear-complex in the minds of the prospective donors. When you shoot out, 'If you do not give, it will be taken by somebody, so better give', we are afraid, you are not so much depending on the inherent goodness in man, but on your own capacity of creating a fear-complex in the man.

"We do not know whether this can be called non-violence."

In the postscript of 2-9-'53 to the article, the author notes further that the "Bhoodan movement is not a whit less revolutionary than the one set in motion by Marx. But if the Vinobian movement even unknowingly tries to steal the thunder of the Marxian movement, the former indeed blunts the edge of its own revolutionary urges. There can be no mixed economy for pure non-violence. And adulterated non-violence is horrible, because it is counter-revolution confounded. Non-violence immaculate is constructively irresistible, because it has a face so unlike violence. How can imitation-violence be as effective in its own way as sincere violence? Impurity either way means losing revolutionary urges, one's the destructive edge, the other's the creative edge."

Quoting from *The Hindu's* (2-9-'53) report of the Press Conference of Shri J. P. at Madras the magazine raises a further point as follows. It says, "According to Shri J. P. . . . Satyagraha . . . to induce landowners to donate lands to landless was not in conflict with the aims and methods of the Bhoodan movement."

And it asks, "Could the act of 'inducing', one may also say, enforcing, by whatever means, the lawful landowner to part with his land against his own wish, be called Satyagraha? Could such extortion consummated . . . be called *dana* and a moral act too? Has Shri Vinoba formally sanctioned his workers to use such 'Satyagraha' for the fulfilment of his mission?"

On reading the above, the reader will be also drawn to say that the writer of the above lines unknowingly anticipated the Pardi agitation called the Khed-Satyagraha. This agitation is led by people who belong to the P. S. Party. The leader of the Party, Acharya Shri Kripalani, came to Bulsar the other day and blessed it in words that emphasize more the fears and apprehensions noted by the *Vedanta Kesari* article under review.

27-9-'53

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CIRCULATION OF 'HARIJAN' PAPERS

After Gandhiji's demise the *Harijan* Weeklies were suspended for some time. They were revived in April 1948. The circulation figures of the papers at different periods since then are given below :

Date	Harijan	Harijan-bandhu	Harijan-sevak	Total
4-4-'48	9,451	9,103	4,717	23,271
1-2-'52	2,840	3,890	2,270	9,000
13-9-'52	4,475	7,408	6,024	17,907
1-2-'53	4,535	7,630	6,435	18,600
1-3-'53	3,375	5,441	5,885	14,201
1-9-'53	3,150	4,777	3,620	11,547

Readers will see from these figures that the circulation of the *Harijan* papers has been dwindling for the last six or seven months.

After the demise of Gandhiji when the papers were restarted under the editorship of late Shri K. G. Mashruwala, the initial figure of subscribers of the three papers together was 23,271.

In February 1952 the number of subscribers went as low as 9,000 and the Trust had to announce that papers would be closed. But on the request of the public the Trust decided to continue the papers. The Trust and Shri K. G. M. issued an appeal to the people to help the papers become self-supporting by subscribing to them in large numbers. It met with a good response. The subscribers continued to increase in the year 1952-'53.

On 1-3-1953 the *Harijan* papers entered the new year. The readers will see from the figures given above that since then subscribers have been continuously dropping down; and the Trust suffers an increasing loss. The English and Hindi editions have a smaller number of subscribers than the Gujarati. The number of subscribers for the English edition is the smallest. If its subscribers do not increase in adequate numbers, the Trust will have to consider whether it could be continued longer. The position could however be averted if either the subscribers for the English edition rise to the required number or the other two papers show a compensatory increase in the number of their subscribers. I draw the attention of the readers to the article on the subject by Shri Maganbhai P. Desai, printed elsewhere in these columns.

26-9-'53

JIVANJI D. DESAI

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